A DISCOURSE

Sent to the

Late King James,

To perſuade him to Embrace the

Proteſtant Religion,

BY

Dr. *SAMUEL PARKER*,

Late Lord Biſhop of OXFORD.

To which are prefixed

TWO LETTERS;

The FIRST,

From Sir *Leolyn Jenkins*, on the ſame Subject;

The SECOND,

From the ſaid Biſhop, with the DISCOURSE.

Printed from the Original Manuſcript Papers, without Obſervation or Reflection.

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To the READER.

THeſe Papers accidentally falling into my hands, 'twere injuſtice to conceal them from the World, when ſo much benefit may be reap'd from their Publication; and though there are many Reaſons to be alledged for Printing ſo uſeful a Diſcourſe, yet none was ſo prevalent with me as the thoughts of doing our dead Author Juſtice, at leaſt as to that part of his Accuſation wherein he has been adjudg'd, if not profeſſedly, yet a well-wiſher at leaſt to the *Roman* Catholick Religion; that he was ſo to the Perſon he ſends theſe following lines, is evident from the Deſign of them, which was to bring him over to the Communion of the Church of *England*; a Deſign, conſidering the Circumſtances of thoſe diſtracted Times, ſo very ſeaſonable and honeſt, that the D— Himſelf was forc'd to acknowledge as much, and afterwards thank'd the Dr. for it, and had God given it its due Effect, we might all have thank'd him too: But however the Diſcourſe may have miſs'd of its aim where intended; I hope it may not want ſome Proſelytes of the ſame Perſuaſion, for whoſe ſake 'tis chiefly publiſh'd. As to what concerns the Author himſelf, I ſhall be wholly ſilent, the World labouring under too great a Prejudice to hear his Panegyrick with Patience: The following Tract, with his other Learned Writings are his beſt Orator; but if any Mans Curioſity ſhould lead him to a farther deſire of knowing his Character, if he pleaſes, he may better take it from himſelf.

DEPO-

DEPOSITUM
SAMUELIS PARKER

Nuper Episcopi *Oxonienſis*:

Qui hoc Elogio posteris commendari voluit.

Simultates, & privatas inimicitias
Non modo non fovi,
Sed contempſi.
Solâ integritate fretus,
Nec vivere
Erubeſco;
Nec mori reformido.
Divinam Providentiam
Non minùs credo, quam opto.
Hanc vitam, utcunq; ſuſtineo,
Meliorem expecto;
Fide non infelix,
Spe felicior.
Multa legi, cogitavi, ſcripſi
Omnia ab ipſis rei cujuſq; Principiis exorſus;
Nec tamen ulla ſcire videar meliùs
Quam quæ per fidem accepi.

Sir Leolyn Jenkins *His Letter to the late King.*

THIS Diſcourſe (or what elſe you pleaſe to call it) was brought me by the *Canterbury* Carrier; your *R. H.* will ſee in the looſe Leaf join'd to this, how it comes to be addreſſed to my Hands. The Author I have known long ſince; he was Chaplain to my late Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, his Name is Dr. *Samuel Parker*, (at preſent) Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury*; as I have not had any Communication with him of any kind, theſe many Years, ſo the coming of this Treatiſe to my Hands is a perfect Surpriſe; yet ſeeing the Subject matter of it is that which we pray and contend for, I durſt not but commit it to this preſent Conveyance, beſeeching Almighty God to give a Bleſſing upon it.

For Sir Leolyn Jenkins.

SIR,

HAving been lately confin'd with a great Indisposition of Health, and not knowing how the Divine Providence might be pleased to dispose of me, after I had setled my own private Affairs as well as I could, an Extravagant Thought thrust it self vehemently upon me to leave a Legacy for His Royal Highness, which in those better Intervals I enjoyed, I composed, and out of that eager Zeal, I have for the true Settlement of the Church of England, *cannot forbear to present it. And in order to it make bold to convey it to your Honor, and if your Curiosity will support your Patience to peruse it, I submit it entirely to your Wisdom to dispose of it as you please. And though I have no reason to expect any success from so weak an Endeavor, yet the very Decency of the Design in a Priest of the Church of* England, *will at least warrant it self; for I have only addrest my self to His Royal Highnesses Conscience without any regard to his worldly Interest; and that is a thing that any Church-man that has any sincere love for his Religion is not only authorised, but obliged to do; and as for the Event of such unlikely Attempts, they are to be entirely left to the over-ruling Providence of God. However I request the favor of your Perusal, and if you judge not the Design utterly ridiculous, to convey it to His Highness. If you are tempted to smile at my Folly, I beseech you to impute it to my present Weakness, and when I am in a better Condition of Health, for which I thank God I am now in a very fair way, perhaps I shall be as forward as any to laugh at the oddness of the Attempt. But whatever it is, I am sure it has the warrant of a good meaning from, Sir,*

Your most Humble Servant,

S. PARKER.

SIR,

WHat Addreſſes, or whether any at all, have been made to Your Royal Highneſs by the Divines of the Church of *England*, for the Satisfaction of your Conſcience, I am altogether ignorant. Tho I cannot ſuppoſe that none have been made, becauſe I know great numbers of Learned Men of our Communion, both Zealous for their Religion, and alſo for Your Highneſſes Service here, and Souls welfare hereafter: But then this I have too much Reaſon to fear, that ſome of them may not have taken that Method; nor have proceeded upon thoſe Principles that they ought. For the Men that have ever ſince his Majeſties Return, been, or at leaſt appeared, moſt forward, in defiance of the Church of *Rome*, have been ſo unhappy in their Zeal and Oppoſition againſt it, as together with the Papal Uſurpations, to dig up the very Foundations of the Chriſtian Church: or, at the ſame time that they endeavor to pull down the Pope's preſent high and uncanonical Pretences, deſtroy all that Divine Authority that was veſted by our Bleſſed Saviour in the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors, for the Guidance and Government of Souls; ſo as to make every private Perſon the only Judg of his own Faith, without any defence to the Direction of his Spiritual Guides and Governors: which is in effect no leſs than really to cancel that Promiſe that our Bleſſed Saviour made to be aſſiſtant to them in the Execution of their Office, to the End of the World; for if he make good his Promiſe, that alone is more than enough to challenge the regular Submiſſion of private Chriſtians to their Decrees, as they would not Rebel againſt our Saviour's own Inſtitution. This I know has been the great ſtumbling Block to the *Roman* Catholicks, that the Church of *England* neither pretends to, nor owns any ſuch Power, as that of a living Judge; but that it either reſolves all its Authority into the State, or leaves all its Members at their own entire liberty, to chooſe their

Religion as they pleaſe, without being accountable to the Church for it.

Theſe, I muſt confeſs, are very common Opinions among us, but then they are very new too, and as great Strangers to the Church of *England*, as to the Church of *Rome*: being at firſt ſtarted about his Majeſties Return, when ſome young Men that had been fanatically Educated, ſeeing the Church of *England* Reſtored, and either having a mind to its Preferments, or to bring themſelves off from the Principles of their Education, pretended that there was no ſuch thing as any particular Form of Church-Government, ſetled by our Saviour or his Apoſtles; and therefore that it was left entirely to the power of the Civil Magiſtrate to Eſtabliſh what Form He Himſelf liked beſt. And for that Reaſon, and for that alone, ſeeing his Majeſty was pleaſed to reſtore Epiſcopacy, they thought it their Duty to ſubmit to that as to all other Civil Laws and Conſtitutions. But, alas, theſe are not Church, but State-Divines, and not only Traytors to the Liberties of the Church of *England*, but profeſt Enemies to the very Being of a Chriſtian Church; which as ſuch, ſubſiſts merely upon our Saviour's own Charter and Inſtitution, by virtue whereof all Chriſtians are bound to aſſociate in a viſible Society, and to ſubmit to the Decrees and Ordinances of thoſe Governors that he hath ſet over it. This, I ſay, is the firſt Principle of a Chriſtian Church, and is owned by all Men, that either own any ſuch thing as a Church, or underſtand what they mean by the word. So that the only true State of the Controverſie in this Caſe between Church and Church, is to diſcover how the Government of the Catholick Church was at firſt ſetled by our Saviour: how it deſcended to after Ages, and who at this time ſtick cloſeſt to the Primitive Inſtitution.

And for Your Highneſſes full Satisfaction herein, I will make a faithful Repreſentation of the true State of the Primitive Church, and then compare the preſent Conſtitution of the Church of *England*, and the Church of *Rome*; and thereby ſhew how enormouſly the Church of *Rome*, notwithſtanding all its high Pretences, hath departed from it, and how honeſtly the Church of *England* endeavors to keep to the original Platform; and when I have done this, I ſhall, with all Humility, ſubmit it to Your Royal Highneſſes Wiſe and Impartial Judgment: For I know that in matters relating to Your Souls welfare, You deſign nothing but Truth, and the beſt way to

ſecure

ſecure it. This I am aſſured of, not only from the fam'd Integrity, and Generouſneſs of Your Princely Temper, that ſcorns to admit of the Alloy of Secular Intereſt into the great Concerns of Conſcience, but by that great Courage and Reſolution You have ſhewn for the Maintenance of Your preſent Perſwaſion (whatever that is) to Your great Detriment and Diſadvantage of Your Affairs in this World. But though I think it moſt apparently Your preſent Intereſt to quit that Church, yet I think it too, a very Ignoble, as well as Irreligious Attempt, to make that an Argument for it. And I am afraid, That is one of the higheſt Prejudices that Your Royal Highneſs may have conceived againſt the Church of *England*, that ſome Men in it have inſiſted upon Your worldly Intereſt too much in a point of Conſcience. And yet if by a true and ſincere Account of things, I can bring Your Conſcience over to the Church of *England*, though I ſhall not bring Your Conſcience to Your Intereſt, yet I ſhall make them meet: for if that were ſatisfied, it is obvious on which ſide the Advantage lies. And though upon the Suppoſition of Conſcience being ſatisfied, Intereſt might be admitted as an acceſſional Motive; yet I ſhall entirely wave all worldly Conſiderations, and diſdain any Aſſiſtance that is Foreign to the cauſe of Religion, and if I did not, I am ſure Your Highneſs would.

And therefore I ſhall only humbly crave leave to repreſent the true State of the Chriſtian Church, and from thence remonſtrate to Your Princely Wiſdom, that Your Highneſs can have no Reaſon either as a Chriſtian Man or a Chriſtian Prince, to concern Your Self for the Intereſt, or join with the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and that on the contrary you have all the Reaſon in the World, upon both Accounts, to love and value the Church of *England*.

Firſt then Chriſtianity ſuppoſes the Temporal Power of Princes, Civil Government being ſetled in the World by the general Providence of God antecedently to our Saviour's particular Inſtitution. And as he found it, ſo he left it, with an expreſs declaimor of any Pretence to it, in the firſt place declaring that the Kingdom that he came to eſtabliſh was not of this World: that is, that he was not inveſted with any Temporal Juriſdiction. And the truth is, if he had laid claim to any ſuch Power, his Religion had ſtood upon no better foundation than *Mahumetaniſm* it ſelf, that was at firſt propagated, and hath been hitherto maintained merely by the Power

of

of the Sword. But the Deſign of our Savior's Inſtitution, was pure and unmix'd Religion, and therefore abetted it Self and its Laws with no other Sanctions than only the Rewards and Puniſhments of the Life to come. And the ſame Power that he exercis'd himſelf, he devolv'd upon his Apoſtles, from them to deſcend upon their Succeſſors to the End of the World; ſo that all their Power, whatever it is, is of the ſame Nature with that which himſelf claim'd whilſt on Earth, that is purely ſpiritual and void of all temporal Coertion. And for this Reaſon it is evident, that if any Church pretend to any ſuch Power by Virtue of his Grant or Commiſſion, that it is not only a Contradiction to the Nature of Chriſtianity, but an Atheiſtical Abuſe put upon the whole Deſign of his Inſtitution.

Now upon this Suppoſition, there are and muſt be in all Kingdoms and Commonwealths where Chriſtianity is entertained and protected, two diſtinct Juriſdictions, ſo as that if one entrench upon or invade the other, it is an equal Violation of Chriſtianity; for if the temporal Prince aſſume to himſelf the Exerciſe of that Power that is peculiarly inveſted in the Officers of the Church, inſtead of governing the Church he deſtroys it: when every Church, as a Church, is capable of no other Government but what is purely ſpiritual, and delegated to it by our Saviour's ſpecial Commiſſion, after the full Settlement of the Power of Princes. And the ſame Violation of Chriſtianity is it, if any of the Governors of the Church ſhould challenge any ſuch Power by Virtue of our Savior's Authority, for that were to turn a ſpiritual into a temporal Kingdom.

Now theſe two Powers being ſo plainly diſtinct both in their Nature and Original, they muſt continue ſo notwithſtanding the Union of Church and State into one Society. For if the Prince take upon him the ſole Government of the Church as ſuch, he acts not only without but againſt our Savior's Commiſſion, who hath appropriated that Power to another Order of Men; and if the Prieſt challenge any temporal Juriſdiction as deriv'd from our Savior, he in effect diſclaims him, in that he becomes our Savior purely by Virtue of his ſpiritual Power, and Supremacy over his Church; and therefore to pretend to any other Power deriv'd from him as Head of it, is another way of turning Chriſt into *Mahomet*.

But

But tho the Civil Magiſtrate have no ſhare of ſpiritual Authority, yet hath he a Sovereign Supremacy over the Eccleſiaſtical State; otherwiſe he would abate of his Power by the coming of Chriſtianity into the World; which contradicts the firſt Principle of a Chriſtian Church, that it makes no Alteration as to Civil Rights: but then this Power over the Church is purely civil too, and relates only to the Ends of Peace and Government in this Life, and is the ſame that every Prince would have had, tho our Savior had never come into the World; but as for that which he hath peculiarly granted, as he hath granted no part of it to the Civil Magiſtrate, ſo it is plain that he hath deſignedly ſetled it upon another Order of Men, and it is they alone that have any Right to exerciſe it. But notwithſtanding this new Power, they are never the leſs Subjects than they were before; and therefore all Chriſtian Princes have the ſame Supremacy over all the Powers of the Church, as to the Ends of Civil Government, and as far as concerns the Affairs of this Life, as they could have had if there were no ſuch Powers at all.

The grand Difficulty in this Caſe is the Danger of Competition between theſe two Powers; for if they happen to contradict each other, as they too often do, Which ſhall over-rule? If a Man obey his Prince contrary to the Preſcription of his ſpiritual Guide, he may endanger his Soul; if he obey the Biſhop, he diſobeys his Prince, and ſo deſervedly forfeits his Neck to Juſtice. But this Difficulty, as big as it may appear, is clearly remov'd by this one Conſideration, That the Chriſtian Church, and all the Authority in it, is founded upon the Croſs of Chriſt, and that not only claims no Power in this World, but obliges to an entire Submiſſion to all the Powers of it; ſo that no Oppoſition can lawfully be made, even to the moſt unlawful Commands of Sovereign Princes, but all Chriſtians are ſtill bound to do as they did in the Primitive Times, to lay down their Lives with all manner of Meekneſs, if their Governors, whether right or wrong, require it. This is the true and honeſt State of the Chriſtian Church, That every Chriſtian Man be faithful to the Laws of his Religion, and if he ſuffer for it he ſhall be compenſated for it with thoſe Rewards that his Religion promiſes. So that in all Caſes of Competition both Powers ſo prevail, as to attain their reſpective Ends. The Civil Power over-rules as to all Effects of this Life, and being thus gently ſubmitted to, ſecures the Peace and Quiet of this World,

World, and that is the End for which it was inſtituted. And the ſpiritual Power attains its Effect as to the World to come, the Salvation of the Souls of Men by their conſcientious Loyalty to their Religion; and that is all that it aims at, or pretends to; and every Man that profeſſeth Chriſtianity, takes it up upon this Condition. So that all Reſiſtance to ſecular Powers upon pretence of Religion, is a direct Contradiction to the Nature of the Chriſtian Faith, and another open Apoſtacy from Chriſtianity to Mahumetaniſm: And that I am afraid will prove a groſs Blemiſh upon the Church of *Rome*, that it pretends to a Power not only equal, but ſuperior to Princes: ſo that the Popes, as the Vicars of Chriſt, may not only contend with them by force of Arms, but may in ſome Caſes depoſe them from their Thrones; which if truly conſider'd, is no leſs than rank Blaſphemy againſt our bleſſed Savior, by turning his pure Religion into an Artifice of ſecular Intereſt.

But beſide this, this Point of Competition is to be chiefly determin'd by the Matter about which it is employ'd. If the Conteſt be about an Article of Faith, or any Fundamental Rule of Religion, and the Prince will interpoſe his Power, tho no Man is oblig'd to obey him, becauſe it is certain he never was entruſted with any ſuch Power by our Saviour, yet is he to be ſubmitted to with all Meekneſs, by virtue of the former Principle, that requires peaceable Submiſſion to Government from Chriſtians in all Caſes, for the quiet of the World. But if the Conteſt be about a Ritual of Worſhip, or an emergent Rule of Diſcipline, about which the Governors of the Church have a Power in themſelves to make Canons and new Proviſions, yet are they indiſpenſibly bound to ſubmit the Exerciſe of it to their Prince, becauſe that's the firſt Principle of Chriſtianity, as far as they can without Violence to the Laws of their Religion, to comport with Civil Government; ſo that tho this Power be ſeated properly in the Church; yet out of that great Reſpect and Dutythat the Chriſtian Law requires to Princes, they are bound to make uſe of it with all Deference to Sovereign Authority; eſpecially becauſe the Church is accountable to it for its peaceable Behavior in the Commonwealth, and therefore ought to give Security that it will neither diſturb the State, nor invade the Sovereign Prerogative upon this Pretence; which becauſe it is poſſible for them to do, and ſome have done, they are concern'd both in Duty and Modeſty to ſubmit all their

their Proceedings to his Judgment. And this, as far as I underſtand, is the true State of the Church of *England*, in the Act commonly called the Submiſſion of the Clergy, in which they do not alienate ar grant away their Power of making Canons, but only for preventing all future Jealouſies in the State againſt them, they give all the Aſſurance they can, that they will not preſume to publiſh their Decrees without their Sovereign Lord's Conſent and Approbation. This ſhort Account is the true State of the Bounds of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and that being ſetled, the next thing to be conſidered, is to find out what was the true and original Settlement of the Chriſtian Church; and by that we ſhall be able to inform our ſelves of the good or bad ſtate of any preſent Church, as it agrees, or diſagrees with it.

Firſt then, there is no one thing more clear and evident in the Chriſtian Religion, than that our Saviour veſted the whole Apoſtolical Order with a Supremacy of Power over his Church, and that they in purſuance of this his Divine Inſtitution ordained Biſhops to ſucceed them in their Supremacy of Power through all following Ages.

That the Apoſtles were ſuperior to all other Officers in the Church, is out of queſtion, and granted on all hands; and that the Biſhops ſucceeded them, is as unqueſtionable, from all the cleareſt Records of Antiquity; their Succeſſion, eſpecially in the moſt famous Churches, being derived by the moſt ancient Writers from the Apoſtles themſelves, and was as eaſily and certainly known to thoſe Men that have tranſmitted it to us, as any learned Man may know the Succeſſion of the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, from the Reign of Queen *Eliz.* to this time.

But as this Power was at firſt given to the Apoſtles, ſo was it equally divided among them; ſo that every one exercis'd ſupreme Power within the Bounds of his own Juriſdiction, and all together in the Catholick Church; or as *S. Cyprian* ſtates it, that as there was but one Church founded by Chriſt throughout all the World, but this Church was made up of ſeveral diſtinct Members, ſo was there but one Epiſcopacy, and that conſiſts in the Agreement and unanimous care of all Chriſtian Biſhops: So that the whole Body of the *Epiſt.* 52.

Church was governed by the whole Body of the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors, but the ſeveral parts of it were allotted to the Charge of ſingle Biſhops, who governed them with particular Care, but ſo as to have regard to the Peace and Unity of the Whole. This is the only Notion that this wiſe and good Man (than whom there is not a more eminent Example for both upon Record) ſeems in all his Writings to have had of the Catholick Church. And as for the Apoſtles, who were the firſt Repreſentatives of it, I cannot find the leaſt Footſteps in all the holy Goſpels of any particular Prerogative granted to one above the reſt. It is true indeed that our Savior often addreſſes himſelf to *S. Peter* in particular, but then it is evident, that this is done upon particular Occaſions, and as evident too, that all the great things that are occaſionally ſpoken of him, are in the Scripture aſcrib'd to all the other Apoſtles. Thus whereas *Matth.* xvi. our Savior gives him the Keys of Heaven, upon his confeſſing him to be the Meſſias, He veſts all the Apoſtles with the ſame Power, and that with particular ſolemnity, *John* xx. 21. And whereas he ſtiles *S. Peter* the Rock, or Foundation, upon which he would build his Church, the ſame Title is given to all the Apoſtles in other Scriptures, as *Epheſ.* ii. 20. *Built upon the Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the chief Corner Stone.* And *Revel.* xxi. 14. *The Wall of the City had twelve Foundations upon which were the Names of the twelve Apoſtles of the Lamb.* And in all the Goſpels, unleſs when he applies himſelf particularly to *S. Peter* upon the Occaſion of his Zeal, and Forwardneſs in the Faith, our Savior inveſts them all with an equal Power, eſpecially when he gave them their grand Commiſſion to convert all Nations, *Matth.* xxviii. 19, 20. So that the Men of the Church of *Rome* ſtrein the Scriptures with too forc'd a Violence, when out of ſuch ſlight and accidental Occaſions of our Savior's particular Speeches to *S. Peter*, they would ſettle ſuch great and high Privileges upon his Perſon, ſo as to make him ſovereign Lord of all the other Apoſtles, and ſole Monarch of the Univerſal Church. This Foundation is too ſlight for the Weight of ſo great a Building, and ſo big a Claim requires ſomewhat a clearer Evidence of Title; and if our Savior had intended

ded any ſuch abſolute Sovereignty to *S. Peter*, and made that the Fundamental Principle of his Church, certainly he would have declared it a little more expreſly, and not have left ſo weighty a Point to be merely ſurmis'd out of occaſional Diſcourſes, of which there are ſuch eaſie and obvious Reaſons to be given, without his ever intending any ſuch deſign: So that in truth to make ſo much Noiſe as the *Romaniſts* do about the perſonal Privileges of *S. Peter*, upon ſuch poor and ſlender Pretences, is at once to impoſe upon the Wiſdom of God, as if he had laid the Foundations of his Church ſo ſlightly, and to affront the Underſtandings of Men, as if they thought them ſo weak as to be perſuaded to any thing by ſuch poor and precarious Arguings.

But yet however I will grant more than can with any decent modeſty be demanded from theſe Texts, and yield that our Savior deſigned ſome conſiderable Precedency to *S. Peter*, above all the other Apoſtles. Yet what is this to that omnipotent Sovereignty that his Holineſs challenges over the whole Chriſtian Church, who takes upon himſelf not only the ſupreme, but almoſt the ſole Diſpoſal of it; whereas it is too well known, that *S. Peter*, after the Privileges granted to him, was commanded by an Order of the other Apoſtles, *Acts* viii. 14. which could never have been done, if his Power had been Monarchical over them all. Neither do we find him any where exerciſing any ſuch Sovereignty over them; for tho by reaſon of his ready Faculty of Speech he was uſually the firſt Speaker, yet we do no where find, that he either challeng'd or practis'd any other Precedency. So that tho he was the firſt that delivered his Opinion in the Council of *Jeruſalem*, yet it was *S. James* that determined and pronounced the Decree, in that he was Biſhop of the Place, as is undeniably evident from the moſt undoubted Records of Antiquity. Which yet he ought not to have done, if *S. Peter* had been endued with the ſame Superiority over all the reſt of the Apoſtles, that the Biſhop of *Rome* challenges over all the other Biſhops of the Chriſtian Church. But not to inſiſt upon theſe remote and obſcure Footſteps of *S. Peter*'s Primacy in the Scriptures, I will freely grant him out of the Holy Text it ſelf ſome conſiderable Precedency: tho when I have done that too, what

is it to the Biſhop of *Rome*, more than it is to the Biſhop of *Antioch* or *Alexandria*, or the Biſhops of ſeveral other Places, in which *S. Peter* firſt planted the Chriſtian Faith: ſo that the Biſhops of all thoſe Places have as fair a Title to be *S. Peter*'s Succeſſors as the Biſhop of *Rome*. And yet this great point I ſhall be ſo civil as to admit, and grant that the peculiar Right of Succeſſion to the Privileges of *S. Peter* (if any ſuch there were) was appropriated to the See of *Rome*; but ſtill, What is this to that univerſal Juriſdiction that is challenged by the Biſhops of this See, as the ſupreme and infallible Governors of the Catholick Church? For after all other Diſputes, 'tis this that is the only dividing Point between us; 'tis this that is the only Fundamental Article of their Church; 'tis this for which they load us ſo heavily with their honorable Titles of Hereticks and Schiſmaticks. And ſo no doubt are we, if his Holineſs be veſted by Divine *Right*, with that univerſal Supremacy that he challenges over the whole Chriſtian Church. In a word, if we take this one Controverſie away, I, for my part, know no other difference between the Church of *England* and the Church of *Rome* as to Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution. But now if this one Point of the Supremacy of the Biſhop of *Rome* were the great Foundation of the Chriſtian Faith, (as it muſt be, if his pretences to it by divine Right are true) it is a very ſtrange thing that there ſhould not be ſo much as the ſhadow of any ſuch Authority in all the Records of the Primitive Church. Is it not very odd, that when ſo many Controverſies were ſtarted in the Chriſtian Church, both in the Apoſtles own time, and in the Ages next and immediately following, and that when Almighty God had appointed *S. Peter* and his Succeſſors in the See of *Rome*, the certain and undoubted Judges for ending all Controverſies, that yet none of the Apoſtles or Primitive Doctors of the Chriſtian Church, that labor'd ſo much againſt Schiſms, Hereſies, and Diviſions, ſhould ever ſo much as think of or mention ſuch an effectual nay infallible Remedy againſt them all? One Appeal to the Biſhop of *Rome* had put an End to all further Trouble, and certainly had God veſted him with that Power over the whole Chriſtian Church, they could never have been ſo ſtupid, as never to have taken

taken any notice of it, And yet we find not the leaſt mention of it for many hundred years, after the ſettlement of Chriſtianity in the World. And perhaps the Biſhops of *Rome* themſelves had never thought of it, had it not been firſt put into their Heads by the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, by whom it was (as I ſhall ſhew in the ſequel of this Diſcourſe) firſt claimed. Some ſmall glimmerings indeed we meet with of ſome honorary Preeminence or Dignity allowed to the Church of *Rome* upon the ſcore of its being the Imperial City, and by reaſon of the great reſort to it, of its being one of the moſt competent Witneſſes of the true Tradition of Chriſtianity: But that it ſhould have any Juriſdiction over any other Churches out of its own Province, much more ſuch an univerſal power over all Churches in the World as is now challeng'd, is a Notion ſo utterly ſtrange and unknown to all Antiquity, that the bare ſilence of it alone is an irrefragable demonſtration of the Novelty of the Pretence. But for the greater Evidence of this thing (which indeed is the firſt point of Controverſie between us) I ſhall make bold as briefly as I can, to give Your Royal Highneſs a true and impartial account of the State of the Chriſtian Church from the beginning: and then of the ſeveral and gradual Alterations that were by Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions made in it in after times: and laſtly how, and how late the Popes of *Rome* climb'd up to that infinite Authority, that they have for ſome Ages exerciſed, and ſtill claim over the Chriſtian Church. And when I have done all this, I may ſafely leave it to Your Royal Highneſſes Princely Wiſdom to judge, what Obligation You can have in Conſcience to leave the Communion of the *Britannick* Church for that of *Rome*.

And in the firſt place, there is nothing more evident in all the Records of the Primitive Church, than that the Apoſtles and firſt Doctors of the Chriſtian Faith modell'd the firſt Settlement of Churches according to the then preſent State and Diviſion of the *Roman* Empire. For though our bleſſed Saviour ſettled the Supreme Government of his Church upon his holy Apoſtles and their Succeſſors, yet he no where preſcribed the bounds and limits of every Man's Juriſdiction, but left it, as indeed the Nature of the thing required, to Humane Prudence to divide the Provinces among themſelves, as they ſhould judge moſt convenient for the

the Advantage of their common Christianity. And accordingly we find from the very beginning, that they formed the Jurisdiction of Churches, according to the Civil Judicatures of the Empire; common Prudence directing them so to do, not only for the more speedy Propagation of Christianity by the resort of all People to the Metropolis of the Province, which they therefore constituted the Mother Church of it, but that whenever the Powers of the World should come in to own Christianity, the better Correspondence might be maintain'd between the States, Civil and Ecclesiastical. And beside this by making the Head City of every Province the Metropolis of the Church within that Province, upon which the inferior Cities depended as the Centre of Communion, they thereby admirably secur'd the Unity of the whole Body, while every Episcopal Church exercised ordinary Jurisdiction within it self, but was bound, either in cases of great Difficulty, or such as concerned the common Christianity, to have recourse to the Mother-Church.

And this was apparently, the Original of the Privilege and Preeminence of some Churches above others from the beginning; not that they ever pretended to any Sovereignty over them in their particular Jurisdictions, but only as the Centre of Ecclesiastical Unity, so as to decide Controversies, whenever any inferior Church appealed to them for their Advice, or to summon Councils, and preside over them in all Debates that concerned common Christianity. And that this Distribution of Provinces and Bishopricks was setled by the Apostles, seems evident from their own Writings, who every where describe the bounds of Churches, according to the Constitution of the Empire. Thus St. *Peter* directs his Epistle to the several Churches of the Christian *Jews*, with respect to so many several Provinces, *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia*, and *Bythinia*, which as they were distinct Provinces in the Civil Division of the Empire, so were they from that time forward, so many distinct Provincial Sees, in the Communion of the Church. And nothing is more obvious in the Epistles of St. *Paul*, than that whenever he makes mention of any Church, he either calls it by the name of the Province it self, or the Metropolis or Head City of it. And as this design of conforming the Ecclesiastical State to the Civil, was first set on foot by the Apostles; so was it carefully prosecuted by their Successors, of which

which we have an eminent Inſtance in the Apoſtolical Canons, (which though they were not compiled by the Apoſtles themſelves, yet they were by Apoſtolical Men, and ſuch as immediately ſucceeded them) where it is decreed in the 34 Canon, That the Biſhops of every Nation ſhould acknowledge their Primate or Metropolitan, and honor him as their Head, and do nothing of moment in the Chriſtian Church wthout his conſent, nor he without theirs. Now that this was preſcribed by the Apoſtles themſelves, is evident in that, as this Canon was made a very ſhort time after their Deceaſe, ſo it is not a new Law, but a Ratification of an old Cuſtom, as indeed moſt of the Apoſtolical Canons ſeem to be. This was apparently the Conſtitution of the Chriſtian Churches in all places of the Empire for the firſt three hundred years, or the whole interval of time from our Saviour to *Conſtantine*, that as every City was governed by its own Biſhop, ſo was every Province by its own Metropolitan in his Synod of Biſhops, of which there are many Inſtances in the Records of the Church, though I ſhall mention but one, as the moſt eminent of all, and that is, the ſeveral Synods that were called about the Paſchal Controverſie, not long after the time of the Apoſtles themſelves: which as it was canvaſſed all the World over, ſo was it debated in ſo many Provincial Synods in each whereof the Metropolitan preſided; in *Paleſtin*, *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*; in *Pontus*, *Palma* Biſhop of *Armaſtris*; in the Proconſular *Aſia*, *Policrates* Biſhop of *Epheſus*; in *Italy*, *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome*; in *France*, *Irenæus* Biſhop of *Lyons*; where every Synod judged for it ſelf, and made its own Decrees, only *Victor* would have been meddling with the Church of *Aſia*, though as far as appears from Records, not from any Authority he pretended to over it, but out of an intemperate Zeal for his own Opinion. But in this he is quickly check'd by the other Churches eſpecially that of *France*, though of the ſame Perſwaſion with himſelf as to the matter of the Controverſie, as he would not break the Unity of the Chriſtian Church, which was to be maintained by no other means, than keeping up the Rights of every part of it. And this they admirably preſerved by their communicatory Letters between Church and Church, ſo as no Member of one Church might be admitted to Communion with another without his Letters Teſtimonial, whereby it was ſo ordered,

dered, that whoſoever was Excommunicate out of a particular Church, was ſhut out of the Church Catholick. Neither could a Biſhop exerciſe any part of his Office in any other Dioceſe than his own, much leſs any other Province; and if he did, his own Metropolitan was obliged to throw him out of Communion, and all other not to take him in. And this was the occaſion of that ſixth famous Canon of the firſt Council of *Nice* under *Conſtantine* the Great, that confirms to the three great Churches of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, their ancient Privileges and Preeminences. For though ſome learned Men both within and without the Church of *Rome* have been pleaſed to diſpute that the Power here abetted in this Canon was Patriarchical, and not merely Metropolitical, yet that it was not Patriarchical is notoriouſly evident, becauſe there is not the leaſt mention of any ſuch Office in all the Records of the Chriſtian Church before the Council of *Calcedon*, which was above an hundred years after that of *Nice*, and yet this *Nicene* Canon only confirms the old, and accuſtomed Rights of Churches. And that this power was Metropolitical, is manifeſt, becauſe it was made purely in purſuance of the fore-mentioned 34*th* Apoſtolical Canon, that requires the Subjection of all other inferior Biſhops to their National or Provincial Biſhops. The occaſion of it was this, That *Meletius* Biſhop of *Nicapolis*, within the Province of *Alexandria*, being depoſed by his Metropolitan in a Synod of Biſhops, as for divers other Crimes, ſo particularly for Sacrificing to Idols, notwithſtanding that takes upon him to Ordain new Biſhops himſelf, and ſo violates all the Preeminences of his Metropolitan, both by ſlighting his Cenſure, and invading his Power. Now complaint hereof being brought to the Council, they decree that the ancient Prerogatives of the Church of *Alexandria* over the inferior Churches within its Province, ſhall be kept as inviolable as thoſe of *Rome*, and the ſame for *Antiochia*, and not only ſo in thoſe great Sees, but in all other Provinces whatſoever, for ſo the Canon expreſly runs, that not only at *Antiochia*, but that in all other ἐπαρχίαι or Provinces their ancient Privileges ſhould be preſerved. So that here is nothing peculiar to theſe three great Cities determined, becauſe the Juriſdictions of all other Provinces that were in force at that time, were as much ratified by the ſame Authority

and

and that was only this, That whatever Superiority greater Churches had by long Cuſtom enjoyed over leſs, ſhould ſtand confirmed for the time to come. And accordingly we find it decreed in the ſecond Canon of the ſecond general Council held at *Conſtantinople* as a clear Interpretation of the ſixth Canon of *Nice*, that all Biſhops ſhould contain themſelves within the known Circuit of their Juriſdiction, and not thruſt themſelves into other Dioceſſes, eſpecially that the Biſhop of *Alexandria* ſhould be confin'd within the Dioceſe of *Ægypt*, and *Antiochia* within that of the Eaſt, and that the Churches of *Aſia*, *Pontus* and *Thracia*, ſhould enjoy the antient Power of Government within themſelves, as well as thoſe that had invaded their Right; this being the occaſion of the Decree of the Council, that *Miletius* Biſhop of *Antiochia*, had made *Gregory Nazienzen* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and *Peter* Biſhop of *Alexandria* had done the ſame for *Maximus*, whereas *Conſtantinople* was in *Thrace*, that was a Dioceſe by it ſelf in the Civil Diviſion of the Empire, and therefore exempt from the Juriſdiction of thoſe great Prelates, having the ſame ſupreme and independent Power within it ſelf, as they had within their Provinces, as had alſo the leſſer *Aſia* and *Pontus*, which that they might not be encroach'd upon, or ſwallowed up by their Potent Neighbors, were here guarded and ſettled by the Decree of the Council in the Poſſeſſion of their ancient Rights, againſt all future Invaſions. And the ſame Decree we find in the next general Council held at *Epheſus*, Canon the eighth, upon the like occaſion, the Biſhop of *Antioch* taking upon him to Ordain in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, that was an head Province by it ſelf; This Uſurpation therefore the Council ſeverely cenſures and forbids, and withal orders that no Metropolitan ſhould challenge any further extent of Juriſdiction that he could not prove by long and immemorial Preſcription, leſt under the Pretence of their Prieſtly Office, they ſhould introduce a ſecular Sovereignty into the Church.

Infinite are the Inſtances in the Records of the Church of the Metropolitical Supremacy of Churches, but theſe that I have already alledged are enough to ſhew the true Primitive and Apoſtolical Conſtitution of the Chriſtian Church, which laſted the ſame even as to the bounds of Juriſdiction till the time of *Conſtantine* the

Great. But the caſting the Civil Government of the Empire into a new Model, gave occaſion to the Church in purſuance of its Primitive Rule of conforming to the Civil Government, to add to the old Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy; for the whole Empire being divided into thirteen Dioceſſes, each Dioceſe containing many Provinces, in all to the number of 120, and every Province ſeveral inferior Cities. And therefore as every City had its Judge for Civil Government, ſo had it its Biſhop for Eccleſiaſtical, and every Province its Preſident, ſo its Metropolitan; and every Dioceſe, which then contained ſeveral Provinces, its Lieutenant, ſo its Primate. Which indeed was nothing elſe, but raiſing up a ſuperior Order of Metropolitans in conformity to the new Model of Civil Government; and therefore was at firſt nothing elſe but an honorary Title that gave them Precedency to the Metropolitans, but not Juriſdiction over them. For the very firſt time that we meet with any mention of any ſuch Order in the Church is in the ſecond Canon of the ſecond general Council held at *Conſtantinople* under *Theodoſius* the Great, where at the ſame time that it inſtitutes this new kind of Dignity, it ſecures the old Juriſdiction of Metropolitans. So that notwithſtanding this new Order was brought over their heads in conformity to the Empire, yet was every Metropolitan Church to be governed by it ſelf, and its own Synod, in the ſame manner as it was accuſtomed of old, and was confirmed by the decree of the Council of *Nice*. Which Council poſitively aſſerts the Supremacy of Power, to every Metropolitan within his own Province. And therefore all the Preeminence of this new Order of Men above them could conſiſt in nothing but Title and Dignity. And it is ſufficiently known to all that know any thing of the ancient Records of the Church that they had their πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς their Preeminences of Reſpect, and πρεσβεῖα τῆς ἐξουσίας, their Preeminences of Power and Authority. And it was uſual upon particular occaſions to give the former without conferring the latter, as the great Council of *Nice* gave to the Church of *Jeruſalem*, Metropolitical Honor, becauſe it was the Mother of all Churches, without giving it any Metropolitical Juriſdiction, for that was reſerved entirely for the Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, which after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* had been made the Civil Metropolis of *Paleſtin* by the Emperor

Emperor *Vespasian*, so this present Council of *Constantinople*, of which we are speaking in the Canon next following that we last mentioned, gives the Πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς, the Preeminencies of Honor, next to the Bishop of *Rome*, to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, because *Constantinople* was new *Rome*, and yet gives it nothing of Metropolitical Power, because it expressly confirms the old Rights of the three Metropolitans of *Asia*, *Pontus*, and *Thrace*, to which it belonged, in the Canon immediately foregoing. In short, all the Privileges of the ancient Metropolitans were divided into two sorts, those of Honour and those of Power; the former the Fathers of this Council gave to the Bishop of *Constantinople* out of Complement to the new Imperial City, but neither could nor would give any thing of the latter; because that was not to be done without violating and alienating the real Rights and Priviledges of other Men. But yet however, when once they had got an higher Title, it easily made way to advance themselves to an higher Power, insomuch that in a short time after he swallow'd up all the three Metropolitans of *Thrace*, *Pontus*, and *Asia*, into his own Jurisdiction.

And now this superior Order of Primates to Metropolitans, being thus set up by Ecclesiastical Constitution, it in a little time made way for the Patriarchical Dignity; the Title whereof was at first borrowed from the wandring Jews of those times, who wherever they settled in any considerable Number, after their dispersion from *Jerusalem*, chose a supreme Governour, whom they stil'd their Patriarch; but about the fourth Century, or somewhat after, this Title and Authority was taken from the Jews, and applyed to the new *supra*-Metropolitan Bishops, that it seems as yet had obtain'd no peculiar Name in the Christian Church. Thus *Socrates*, the Historian of the Church at that time, reckons up *Nectarius* of *Constantinople*, *Helladius* of *Pontus*, *Gregory* of *Nyssa*, *Ottreius* of *Melitina*, *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*, *Optimus* of the *Pisidian Antioch*, *Timotheus* of *Alexandria*, *Pelagius* of *Laodicea*, *Diodorus* of *Tarsus*, and many more. Then in a little time the Title came to be appropriated to the five most eminent Sees, *Rome*, *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*; and they were made superior, not only

in Title, but in Juriſdiction to all Metropolitans within their Dioceſs, becauſe it ſeems, thoſe Cities being the five chief Cities in the World, had their Claims to higher Dignity in the civil Government than all others. *Rome*, the Seat of the Empire; *Alexandria*, the head City of *Africk*, and Seat of the Great *Ptolomys*; *Antiochia*, Queen of the Eaſt, and Seat of the Great *Seleucus* and his Succeſſors; *Jeruſalem*, the Mother City of all Chriſtian hurches; and *Conſtantinople*, the new *Rome* of the Empire, that had at that time over-topt old *Rome* in Greatneſs and Authority. Now the Rights that were peculiar to theſe Patriarchs above Metropolitans, were theſe,

Firſt, that wherever they preſided, they had many Metropolitans under their Juriſdiction.

Secondly, that they only had right to ordain the Metropolitans within their own Patriarchate, as Metropolitans had Biſhops within their own Province.

Thirdly, that as Metropolitans had power to call the Biſhops of their Province to Synods, ſo had Patriarchs to call their Metropolitans.

Fourthly, that they were the ſupreme Judicature within their own Patriarchates, no farther appeal being to be made from a Patriarch.

And thus was the Church for a long time govern'd, every Patriarch enjoying ſupreme Power within his own Precincts, and no farther; inſomuch that the Rule was adopted into the imperial Law, *A Patriarcha non datur Appellatio*; No Appeal from a Patriarch; and yet that alone is a plain Bar to the Supremacy of the Pope, or any other, over the whole Chriſtian Church.

But then, as for the Bounds of Juriſdiction, they ſtill follow'd the Diviſion of the State; and there it ſo happen'd, that the Biſhop of *Rome*, tho for the ſake of the old imperial City, he had Precedency in Honor above all the reſt, had one of the narroweſt Juriſdictions of all, his Patriarchate extending, at the fartheſt, not beyond *Italy* and the adjacent Iſlands; tho according to the true account, it was not at firſt above half ſo great, *Italy* being divided into two Parts under two Governours,

vernours, one reſiding at *Rome*, who governed the Suburbicarian Provinces, ſo call'd, becauſe of their lying neareſt to the City; the other at *Milain*, who govern'd the more remote Parts. And after the ſame manner was the Government of the Church divided into the *Roman* Dioceſs, that was ſubject to the Biſhops of *Rome*; and the *Italic* Dioceſs, of which *Milain* was the Head; over which we do not find that the Biſhop of *Rome*, in antient time, ever pretended any Patriarchical Supremacy; nay, on the contrary, that S. *Ambroſe* was ordained in the Year of our Lord 555. Biſhop thereof, by a Synod of Biſhops of the *Italic* Dioceſs, which he could not have been, had the Biſhop of *Rome* been his Patriarch, the power of Ordination being the chief Branch of Patriarchical Juriſdiction. But how great or little ſoever was the Circuit of his Patriarchate, it was limited within certain Bounds, as the other Patriarchates were. And as the Patriarchs were Supreme within their own Dioceſs, ſo were moſt of the Metropolitans within their own Province: For tho where Patriarchs were erected, the Metropolitans, within the compaſs of their Patriarchate, were ſubject to them, yet all the other Metropolitans of the Chriſtian Church enjoy'd their own antient Supremacy, and continued, as they were before, Head-Churches, exerciſing Supreme Power within themſelves: Of which there were great Numbers in the World, and ſome of as large Juriſdiction as the Patriarchates, eſpecially in *Aſia*. But as for the Patriarchate of *Rome*, it never extended its Power beyond *Italy*, and its adjacent Iſlands: And therefore it is very obſervable, that the Writers of the Church of *Rome*, care not that it ſhould be known to the Chriſtian World: So that hereafter, all their Brags of Univerſal Paſtorſhip, when they come to make it out, their Manuſcripts ſtill fail them. *Carolus à Sancto Paulo* hath taken moſt Pains of any in this Argument, and hath done well enough in other Parts; but when he comes to the Church of *Rome*, there his Manuſcript is ſo worn out and defective, that it was not worth publiſhing.

Now doth not this look oddly, that their Books ſhould fail them thus, only in their own Cauſe; and doth it not rather give ſuſpicion, that themſelves are too well aware, that they would

would do them no real kindneſs. However, it is a very prepoſterous thing, for a Man to pretend to a Title to a great Eſtate by virtue of ſome antient Writings, and yet when he comes to try his Title, ſhould only plead, that indeed ſuch Writings there once were, but that they are now ſo impair'd that they are not legible. And yet, this is the very Caſe of the Church of *Rome* here. All Chriſtendom, at leaſt the Weſtern Empire, ought to be ſubject to him as their Patriarch. Why ſo? Becauſe he ever was ſo. How doth that appear? By the ancient *Notitiæ* of the Church. Produce them. So we can for all the other Patriarchates, but thoſe that concern the Church of *Rome* are unhappily loſt. Are they ſo? Then you have loſt the Evidence of your Title, and for ought you do, or can know, never had any.

But inſtead of this ſhifting and prevaricating that we meet with in the Writers of the Church of *Rome*, there is not long ſince publiſh'd by a very learned and a very honeſt Gentleman of our own Church and Nation, an accurate Deſcription of all the Patriarchates, out of an ancient and authentic Manuſcript, which reckons to the Patriarchate of *Rome*, only *Italy* and the adjacent Iſlands; but not a ſyllable of *Spain* or *Germany*, or *Gaul*, or *England*, or any other of the large Territories in *Europe*; which, if they had belonged to this Patriarchate at that time, could never have been omitted in this exact Catalogue, that hath ſo carefully ſet down every petty City in *Italy*. Mr. *Beveridge*.

In this poſture ſtood the Government of the Church for many Years, without any conſiderable Alteration: For tho ſome of the Biſhops of *Rome* would have been uſurping upon the Churches of *Africa*, by pretending to a Right of Appeals from them, they were repulſed with great Shame and Diſhonour. And were it not that I am unwilling to trouble Your Highneſs with any more Diſputes, than what concerns our own Church with the Church of *Rome*, there is nothing more eaſie than to ſhew, that this Controverſie with the *African* Churches is a notorious Inſtance of both the Frauds of the *Roman* Church, and of other Churches abhorring his remoteſt aim at any Supremacy. But tho he miſſed his deſign at that time, his Succeſſors

were ever after watchful of all other Opportunities to compaſs it: And to that purpoſe they happen'd to have two very lucky Advantages; the firſt was the fatal Diviſion of the Empire into Eaſt and Weſt, from whence *S. Gregory Nazienzen*, a Man both wiſe and pious, foretold a more fatal Diviſion in the Church; and accordingly, in a little time it came to paſs, that the whole Body of it was divided into Eaſt and Weſt, as well as the Empire; and the Diviſion was quickly heightned by the mutual Jealouſies of the Emperors, who would not ſuffer the Biſhops under one Government, to repair to Councils conven'd under the other: And that in a ſhort time grew to alienations of Minds; ſo that they kept their Councils apart, and if any Biſhop of the Eaſt repair'd to a Synod of the Weſt, and ſo for the contrary, He was look'd upon as a Betrayer of his own Church. And this was the occaſion of the after-greatneſs of the Church of *Rome* in theſe Weſtern Parts; becauſe that alone of all the five Patriarchates happen'd to go along with the Weſtern Empire. For having no Competitor for the Supremacy, or ſo much as the equality of Power in the Weſtern Church, it was no hard matter to advance it ſelf to any degree of Power that it pleaſed to challenge, eſpecially when the Weſtern Churches were forward enough of themſelves to advance its Dignity, for the Honor of their own Patriarchate, in oppoſition to that of *Conſtantinople*; which being the Seat of the Empire, and enjoying the Favor of the Emporors, ſoon over top'd all the other Eaſtern Patriarchates; ſo that all the Competition that remain'd was between *Rome* and *Conſtantinople*: Till at laſt in the Sixth Century, *John* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* firſt obtained of *Mauritius* the Emperor, the Title of Univerſal Biſhop, which very Title was quickly and vehemently oppos'd by *Gregory* Biſhop of *Rome*, as a Piece of Antichriſtian Pride and Inſolence. But *Mauritius* being murdered by *Phocas*, and *Cyriacus* then Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, being fallen under the new Tyrant's Diſfavor, for declaring againſt his execrable Murder, the Biſhop of *Rome* ſeizes that Opportunity to flatter and careſs him in all his Wickedneſs; for which Civility the Uſurper takes the Title of Univerſal Biſhop, and ſettles it upon the See of *Rome*.

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And when once they had obtained the Title, they resolv'd to make it good, by gaining the Power too. Tho by what degrees they encroach'd upon other Churches, it is not at all to my purpose here to represent, it is enough to have shewn the late Original of the Title, which was never given them till above 600 Years after our Saviour.

This then being the true and real state of all the Christian Church, the Conclusion plainly makes it self, as to any *English* Christian's Obligation to communicate with the Church of *England* or the Church of *Rome*. For as it is the indispensible Duty of every Man to joyn in visible Communion with the Society of the Church, so is the first visible Society of the Church setled in the Communion of the Bishop of the Dioceſs. And thence evident it is, that the first Duty of every Christian, as to external Communion with the Church, is to joyn in Communion with the Bishop of the Place where he lives. For if our Saviour setled the Government of the Church in the Apostles, and if the Episcopal Order succeeded them in their Office, then hath every Bishop Apostolical Authority. And then is every Christian Man bound to submit to his Bishop, as to an Apostle, from whence the Bishop derives the Succession of his Order and Authority. So that the Episcopal Society is the first visible Communion of the Christian Church, and a Man becomes a Member of the Church-Catholic, by joyning in visible Communion with the Church-Episcopal; for it is impossible to be a Member of the Universal Church, without being first a Member of some particular Church, both because the Universal Church is made up of the Combination of particular Churches, and because there is no way of Communicating in the Offices of Religion, but under some limited Societies. The Bishop then in every Dioceſs is, as Successor in the Apostolical Office, Head of the Communion within his own Dioceſs, and for that Reason, the ordinary Judge and Guide to all Christians within his Jurisdiction. So false is that Calumny, of which the Romanists pretend to make so much Advantage against the Constitution of the Church of *England*, that She doth not so much as pretend to any living Judge of Faith: For what Judge She owns,

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as to the Catholic Church, I may ſhew in its proper place. But as for every particular Chriſtian, She commits him to the Care of his Biſhop, as his ordinary Guide and Governour in the things that concern his Salvation.

Now if this be the ſetled Conſtitution of the Chriſtian Church, as it was from the beginning, I cannot underſtand how any Chriſtian can leave the Communion of his own Biſhop, to communicate with any other, without being guilty of Schiſm againſt the Church that he lives in.

For tho he may adviſe with any other Biſhop about the Welfare of his Soul, and follow his Advice as a Friend; yet by the original Conſtitution of the Church, none but his own Biſhop can have any authoritative Commiſſion for his Guidance and Inſtruction. So eaſie is the Anſwer to that ſolemn Queſtion, Who is the living Judge and Guide of your Faith? For if it be put to a private Chriſtian, it is plain, that from the Conſtitution of the Catholic Church, as it was ſetled by the Apoſtles, that it is the Biſhop under whom he lives, to whom God hath committed the ordinary means of the Salvation of his Flock, and promiſed to be aſſiſtant to him and the Succeſſors in his Office to the end of the World.

This is the firſt viſible Society or Communion of a Chriſtian Church, and was evidently laid and deſign'd by our Bleſſed Saviour in his Inſtitution of the Epiſcopal Office. The next is founded upon Apoſtolical Preſcription, and that is the Aſſociation of the Biſhops of a Province with their Metropolitan; for in the Plantation of Churches, as they cut out the Communion of Chriſtians into particular Biſhopricks, ſo they again united the ſeveral Biſhopricks of every Nation into one Communion under one Head; who as he is ſuperior to every ſingle Biſhop within his Reſort; ſo is he in his Synod of Biſhops Supreme Judge of all Controverſies within the Province. Theſe Provincial Aſſemblies, I have ſhewn, were the higheſt Power of the Primitive Church in all Places; neither indeed (ſetting aſide the Promiſe of divine Aſſiſtance to them) is there need of any further Appeal upon humane accounts; for the Controverſives in Chriſtianity, are not ſo monſtrouſly difficult, but that a competent Num-

ber of grave and ſober Men, may determine well enough, without calling together all the wiſe Men in the World; and if Twenty are not ſufficient to decide any Controverſie, I know not what Number is. And as this was the ſtanding ordinary Juriſdiction in the firſt Ages of the Church, ſo the Chriſtians of thoſe Times ſuppos'd the means of Salvation ſufficiently ſecur'd in ſuch Hands, and certainly, that which was ſufficient to them, is ſo to us.

And as this was the higheſt Government in the Church for the firſt three Hundred Years, ſo thoſe more diffuſive Aſſemblies, that were afterward ſummon'd, and that we call general Councils, were really of the ſame nature; for as a Provincial Aſſembly was national, ſo were theſe Imperial, and therefore ſubject but to one civil Government. So that as the Empire was indeed but one great Kingdom, ſo was the Church in it but one great Province, they being both under the ſame extent of Government. And this is the true Uſe of Councils, whether greater or leſs, by the Decree of the Repreſentatives of Churches to bind thoſe Churches that they repreſent. And that is but a reaſonable thing in all Societies, that they ſhould be determin'd by their Governours, eſpecially when they are ſet over them by the appointment of God himſelf. Neither is it ſo very material, how large Councils are, as to their Obligation; for whether they be greater or leſs, they equally bind all that are involv'd within the compaſs of their Authority. And tho there may be greater Preſumption in the Decrees of the greater Councils, yet are they for the moſt part meetings rather of Grandeur than Neceſſity, but eſpecially thoſe that we call General Councils, are now ſo difficult to be ſummon'd, that they are become almoſt impracticable. Whilſt indeed the *Roman* Empire ſtood entire, it was not ſo hard to convene them, yet even then was it a Buſineſs of ſo much Time and Charges as made it too burthenſom to be born, by any thing leſs than the *Roman* Greatneſs, and that too in very rare and exrraordinary Caſes.

But if ſo, it could never then be intended for the ſtanding and perpetual Government of the Chriſtian Church. But now that *Chriſtendom* is divided into ſo many civil Governments, the Difficulties

ficulties are so great and so many, through the various Interests of Princes, either to promote or hinder it, as to render it next to impossible. Tho if it could be fairly had, the Church of *England* would not refuse her Concurrence in it, both as being assured of the Goodness of her Cause, in that she owns no other Rule of her Reformation, but the Practice of the Primitive and Apostolick Church, and as well knowing that the greatest part of the Church of *Rome*, would as willingly rid themselves of those Abuses that have been put upon them by the Court of *Rome*, as we have done. And this the *Spanish* and *French* Bishops had carried through, even in that pack'd Council of *Trent*, had not the Pope poured in a number of Titular *Italian* Bishops to overvote them. But it is none of my present Business to rake into the Faults of the Church of *Rome*; 'tis enough to my purpose to vindicate the Communion of the Church of *England*. Granting therefore the Church of *Rome* to be a pure and uncorrupted Church, yet because it is a Foreign Church, no Man can be under any Obligation, to leave the Communion of his own to joyn with that.

In this one point I fix the State of this whole Address, and say nothing at present to persuade any Person that lives within the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, to forsake that; my only Concernment is with the Members of the Church of *England*, to keep them to their own Church, according to the Rule from the Beginning. If it be objected, That the Church of *England* be a narrow Thing in comparison of the *Catholick Church*; I answer, That the Church of *England* doth not pretend to be the Church Catholick, but only a Member of it: and in that Station it is as large a Church as any were in the Primitive Times. Neither then did the Communion of the *Catholick Church* consist in an Union of all Churches, under one Head, but in brotherly Love and Correspondence with one another: and for that the Church of *England* is ready to offer it to the Church of *Rome*, or any other, upon the old Condition, that they will give her leave to admonish them of their Faults and Miscarriages, as Churches did one another of old. But this is a Civility that the Church of *Rome* is too proud to accept of; it must be all Church-

es, or it will be none at all. It allows no Equals in Communion, and condeſcends to no Treaty but upon Terms of abſolute Subjection: neither is it content to enſlave all its Neighbors to its own imperious Decrees, unleſs they be ſubmitted to as the infallible Dictates of God himſelf. Now this ſeems too much for Men to ſwallow that have any ſenſe or care of their Salvation: for by this means the whole Faith of *Chriſtendom* ſhall be left entirely at the Diſpoſal of one ſingle Perſon, and the Pope alone ſhall be the whole *Catholick Church*. This I ſay ſeems too much to venture upon one ſingle Security, eſpecially unleſs it were confirmed by ſome clearer Commiſſion than thoſe remote and obſcure Texts of Scripture that are alledg'd for the Papal Supremacy. But to return from the Pope to the Church; As the firſt Conſtitution of Churches was conform'd to the civil Government, ſo indeed no other is practicable. For upon that Suppoſition, that Chriſtianity makes no Abatement as to the civil Rights of Men, eſpecially of Princes; provincial Churches cannot be juſtly extended beyond the Dominion of the State; becauſe in that caſe if Metropolitans or Patriarchs have power to call their Subject-Biſhops to Councils, the King's Subjects may be ſummoned out of his Dominions without his leave, which is not only to diminiſh, but to deſtroy his Power over his own Subjects; for when they are out of his Dominions they are none of his. So that the very State of Chriſtianity naturally implies, as it would not be inconſiſtent with it ſelf, the Conformity of the Church to the State in its bounds of Juriſdiction. And this is the true meaning of that known Saying of one of the Fathers, *That the Church is in the Commonwealth, and not the Commonwealth in the Church*; for the Civil Government being firſt conſtituted, and the Church being afterwards taken into it, it muſt for that Reaſon keep it ſelf within it, otherwiſe it breaks down its old Bounds of Settlement. But beſide that the Nature of Government confines every Church within the Prince's Dominions in which it is; ſo it is highly convenient, if not abſolutely neceſſary, to the due and effectual Exerciſe of Diſcipline, that the Society of the Church be confined within ſome moderate Circuit of Government: for great Governments are ſlow and unweildy in their Motions; the very

very distance of Place makes all Proceedings uneasie, and Determinations difficult; and of this our Nation was sufficiently sensible, when all Ecclesiastical Appeals were carried to *Rome*; the Journey was tedious and chargable; and by reason of the distance of Witnesses, and other Inconveniences, Proceedings infinitely dilatory, I might say endless, Causes depending there from Age to Age: this is too notorious, from the sad and open Complaints of those Times; and I my self enjoy a small Office in this Church, wherein my Predecessors had a Suit for a Privilege belonging to it, hanging in the Court of *Rome* for some hundreds of Years, till the very time of the Dissolution of the Pope's Power.

These are intolerable Grievances to Mankind, and heavier Burthens than were ever imposed upon them by the most barbarous civil Government. If therefore his Holiness will challenge a Supremacy over all Christian Churches, let him not exercise his Jurisdiction in ordinary Causes, that is contrary to all the Canons of the Church and Quiet of the World. We will not contend with him about his Patriarchical Preheminence, if that would give him Satisfaction, tho we know he hath not the least pretence of any claim to it over us. But when under that Pretext he takes to himself the Office of Universal Bishop, that is, to be all the Bishops of Christendom, 'tis that exorbitant Usurpation that is not our Complaint alone, but the universal Complaint of Christendom it self. And therefore if he would keep within his Patriarchical Bounds and Privileges, which yet he enjoys not by divine Right but humane Institution, we would give him all that Respect and Reverence that is due to the Primacy of his See. But if instead of Brotherly Communion with us, nothing less will serve his Turn than absolute Dominion over us, and if Submission to that must be made our only Title to the Catholick Church, as if we had no Right to Christianity but by Subjection to the Bishop of *Rome*: these cannot but seem too hard Terms of Communion; or if they are not, it is enough that they are unwarrantable; or if they are not so, it is enough that they are not necessary. And that they are not, is evident from the Premises, where I have demonstrated, that the first Duty of every Christian, as a Member of the Christian Church, is to joyn Communion

munion with his own Bishop, as the first Political Society of a Church. And that the next is a Combination of all the Bishops within one civil Government under one Metropolitan. That this Polity was set on foot by the Apostles themselves, and every where put in practice in the Primitive Church; that the Ecclesiastical Province cannot extend beyond the Precincts of the Civil without infringing the Authority of Sovereign Princes, and therefore, that no foreign Prelate can have or exercise any Ecclesiastical Power over his Majesty's Subjects, because that would give them Power to command them out of his Dominions: So plainly doth the Nature of Civil Government set Bounds to Ecclesiastical Societies; which one thing, if duely consider'd, must cut off all Claims of Papal Supremacy over this Church, because, by virtue of it he would have such a kind of Power over His Majesty's Subjects, as the Christian Religion doth by no means allow any its Officers. And as this was the Settlement of National Churches from the beginning of Christianity, so is it the present Constitution of the Church of *England*, that is or would be govern'd by its Metropolitan in his Synod of Bishops subject to one Civil Government.

And as this is all the Political Society that a Christian Church is capable of, so all the Communion that it can have with other Churches, consists in brotherly Love and mutual Correspondence. And this way was the Christian Church, in the first Ages of it, preserv'd in competent Peace and Unity. And whatever other Power was afterward erected in the Church, was founded upon humane Institution, and therefore is alterable in it self, at least not necessary to the Being of a Christian Church. Of this nature were the several Patriarchates; so that whatever Power the Bishop of *Rome* can challenge by virtue of his Patriarchical Dignity, is of an humane Original, and so not necessary to the Constitution of a Christian Church.

Nay, tho he once had such a Power, yet upon the Dissolution of that Civil and Ecclesiastical Government that gave it him, it ceases with it. For it was granted him by the Emperors, and Imperial Councils, and so extended only to the Subjects of the Empire; for they could not give him any Power in other Princes Domi-

Dominions. The Empire therefore being broken into many independent Kingdoms, the Patriarchate diſſolves with it, becauſe otherwiſe a Foreigner would have an Authority in all Princes Dominions to the Prejudice of the Sovereign Power, which is the firſt thing that Chriſtianity diſclaims, and therefore is principally inconſiſtent with it. But however if the Pope have his old Patriarchical Power ſtill, he had it not of old over us, and therefore cannot have it now, and though he have, yet it is but of Humane Inſtitution. And then we are a true Church without it, and if we are, then can no Man be obliged in Conſcience to forſake the Communion of this Church, that is ſetled as all other Churches were by the Apoſtles, to join with one another, only for the ſake of ſome alteration made in it by Humane Authority.

And thus having truly and impartially laid before Your Royal Highneſs the State of the Chriſtian Church, eſpecially as to the prime Controverſie between the Church of *England* and the Church of *Rome* concerning the Guide of Faith, I have ſo great confidence in the Power of Truth, over an upright and generous Mind, as to flatter my ſelf with ſome Hopes of ſettling Your Royal Highneſſes Conſcience in the Communion of this truly ancient and Apoſtolical Church. Nay, I hope not only to ſee You a Zealous Son, but an eminent Patron of the beſt, but moſt abuſed Church in the Chriſtian World, ſo as to be the principal Author of reſcuing her from thoſe horrid Indignities and Oppreſſions that ſhe daily ſuffers from the Barbarity of popular Atheiſm and Profaneneſs.

But whatever the Succeſs of this ſmall Endeavor may prove, it is not a little Satisfaction that I reap, from having done my Duty to Your Royal Highneſs and mine own Conſcience. For I have no other deſign than to promote the Salvation of Your Soul and my own. But though I am ſo fully conſcious to my ſelf of mine own Integrity, yet when I reflect upon what I have done, I bluſh and am confounded in my ſelf at the Preſumption of obtruding my crude Thoughts upon the Wiſdom of a Mighty Prince, and therefore had utterly ſtifled them after they were finiſhed, had not the great Fame of Your Highneſſes Princely Candor emboldned me to preſent them, as being at leaſt ſecure of a gracious Pardon to a well-meant Preſumption.

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I intended, when I had ſhewn the No-Neceſſity of Commu-nion with the Church of *Rome* upon his own Terms, becauſe its Pretences are a manifeſt Uſurpation upon the Chriſtian Church; in the next place to have repreſented the groſs Abuſe that his Ho-lineſs puts upon Chriſtianity, by pretending ſome way or other, directly or indirectly, to a temporal Power over Sovereign Prin-ces; whereas to pretend to it, by virtue of any Power deriv'd from our Saviour, only over Subjects, is no leſs than Blaſphe-my againſt him; but over Princes, it adds to that Rebellon. (So that how many Notes ſoever there may be of a true Church, this is an infallible Note of a falſe one). But then conſidering with my ſelf that Your Royal Highneſs is the ſecond Branch of an Imperial Family, and Heir to ſeveral Crowns, I thought my-ſelf obliged, according to my Reſolution declar'd in the begin-ning, to wave the Advantage of this Argument: becauſe Your Highneſs is here a Party, and it concerns Your worldly Intereſt more nearly than Your Conſcience, to which alone I have ma-bold to make this Addreſs, and in it I aſſure my ſelf, that all the Kingdoms in the World would weigh nothing. And there-fore without giving Your Royal Highneſs any farther trouble more than once more of craving Pardon for this great Preſu-ption;

I ſhall ſubmit the Conſideration of the Premiſes to Your ſe-ous and impartial Thoughts, and daily pray for Your Happi-neſs both here and hereafter, and while I live ſhall ever be

Your Royal Highneſſes

Moſt Humble and

Devoted Servant.

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